1: Huntingford E-4,5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

(2)

Koret	Single men	Married men	Women	Male children	Female children	Total
Kipkurom	8	8	15	10	10	49
Sosoiyo	22	18	26	16	18	102
Kolpai	25	18	17	9	6	75
	55	44	58	35	34	226

SOURCE: Huntingford, 1929, 1942, 1951, and unpublished material. There are no other sources for the Kipkurerek Dorobo; and except in the case of the Kidoq (p. 70 below) there is no material for a description of any other horde; nor are any other population figures available.

PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

The North Tindiret Forest lies about five miles from the south-eastern boundary of the Nandi Land Unit, and rises from 7,000 ft. to over 9,000 ft. It consists of two great east–west ridges reaching an altitude of about 8,500 ft. divided by the deeply sunk river Kipkurere, " hollow (river)," the ridges merging some 12 miles from the western edge in the high ground round Timboroa which rises to over 9,000 ft. The region is dense evergreen " high forest," with trees of 100 ft. and over, and thick, impenetrable undergrowth growing to a height of 6 or 8 ft. The average rainfall on a farm two miles from the edge of the forest was 54.09 ins. over a period of nine years. Till within the last 25 years the Dorobo lived in small isolated settlements right inside the forest. Access was given by two parallel tracks across the south-western corner of the forest, and concealed paths branched off from them leading to the settlements. In addition to providing a permanent home, the forest was their wet-weather hunting ground; in dry weather the Dorobo used to hunt far afield over Nandi and the Uasin Gishu Plateau, and down to the Rift Valley. In 1937 they were removed from the forest, and a number of them (of domicile categories A and B) settled round the edge of the forest, along a narrow strip of grassland and bush that forms the upper edge of the farms which occupy the five-mile space between the forest and the Nandi Land Unit. But the intention of the Government had been to transfer the Dorobo to the Nandi Land Unit. This the Dorobo did not agree to, but their re-settlement along the edge of the forest was not officially accepted, and they lived there without legal rights unless they became squatters or casual labourers on the farms they settled on.

MAIN FEATURES OF ECONOMY

Till disturbed by European settlement, the Dorobo had a purely hunting economy, though during the last 30 years they have been taking some interest in the acquisition of cattle and in small-scale cultivation. In their hunting days, their only livestock were bees and dogs.

HUNTING

The year was divided into two seasons, ***muainonik***, the dry weather, when they hunted game of all sorts with bow and arrow both in the forest and much farther afield; and ***inotet***, the wet weather, when they set traps in the forest. In the past they hunted buffalo and elephant, and lion were killed in the plains; leopard and pig are still hunted. Smaller game hunted and eaten include antelope and monkeys of all kinds: almost any kind of meat was eaten, except that of hyena, jackal, and

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P.58--ANALYST]

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
F16 Dorobo F16

IL-TORŌBO

PART I

BEING SOME NOTES ON THE VARIOUS TYPES OF *DOROBO* [1] FOUND IN THE MASAI RESERVE OF TANGANYIKA TERRITORY AND CONTIGUOUS DISTRICTS

THE name Dorobo is a familiar one to almost every European in East Africa to-day. Nevertheless, beyond the fact that the Dorobo are commonly supposed to be a nomad tribe or clan of hunters living for the most part with, or near to the Masai, little would appear to be known about them. The Dorobo are referred to in many ethnical works of comparatively recent date, and they are mentioned in a number of books on African sport and travel, but I am unaware of any published work purporting to deal exclusively with these interesting people.

The following very incomplete notes on the Dorobo of Tanganyika Territory have been compiled from various sources,[2] but mainly from discussions with the Dorobo themselves, throughout Tanganyika Masailand. My chief informant has been "Jumbe" Lekite of the Talamai [3] *Il-Mósiro*. The death of this intelligent old man in July, 1926, deprived me of much interesting information.

During three years spent amongst the Masai I have had better opportunities than most people of getting to know the Dorobo. The peculiar conditions obtaining in a Station such as Kibaya, isolated in the middle of a vast area populated almost entirely

[1] I have called them *Dorobo* throughout, though it may be that certain writers would prefer *Andorobo* or *Wandorobo*. I think it will be agreed that the latter, at any rate, is inadmissible. I have clung to the name without a prefix, as these notes look, perforce, at the Dorobo through Masai eyes and the Masai; *Ol-Torōbōni*, *Il-Torōbo*, when shorn of the article, is prefixless. The initial D has been substituted for T as being more customary to the European ear.

[2] The authority consulted is quoted in every case.

[3] Talamai (or "Kijungu," as it is called by the Wanguu and Wazigua of Handeni and also by the inhabitants of the small Bantu settlement thereat, mainly Wasukuma) is a range of hills to the north of and overlooking the main Kondoa–Handeni road, about 45 miles east of Kibaya Station. Its map-reference is: C 5; Masai Steppe: L II; d; 3, 4. The name Talamai refers primarily to the hills, whereas Kijungu is the settlement.

2; Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FL6 Dorobo FL6

This makes the latter feel jealous. He hates the eland on account of his superiority in size and strength, and to show that he is every bit as good as the eland, he has grown a long tuft of hair on his forehead, just the same as an eland bull. The eland has a habit of rubbing his forehead in his urine.[1] This causes the tuft on his forehead to grow strong and thick. The dikdik follows this custom also, partly to increase the growth of his frontal tuft and partly in order to prove that anything an eland can do, he can do as well.

The Wart-Hog and the Lion.[2]—(About four miles south-east of Kibaya there is a curious cave in a bank beside the river bed. The floods of years have washed away the earth from beneath a flat, granite-like rock outcrop which forms the bank in one place, and the cavity thus made (at no point more than three or three-and-a-half feet from floor to ceiling) has often been used in the past as an *Ol-pul*[3] by the Masai. While taking shelter in this cave one day during a downpour of rain, a Dorobo told me the following tale.)

"A wart-hog once came here to rest. Finding the place warm and comfortable, he lay down and was speedily fast asleep. He awoke to find that a lion had entered the cave and was advancing on him with the intent to kill him, for wart-hogs and lions are deadly enemies. The wart-hog brought all his wits to bear on the matter of making his escape, for he greatly feared the lion, who was very big and strong. Suddenly an idea came to his mind, and standing on his hind-legs, he pretended to support the roof of the cave with his tusks, calling out meantime in a frightened voice: 'Lion, lion, come and help me to hold up the roof, as it is falling and we shall both be killed!' The lion, deceived, hastened to the spot and

[1] This fact has, I understand, been authenticated. I have never seen eland performing the act, but an examination of the frontal tuft of a mature bull eland will lead one to believe in the assertion. Cf. *The Journal of a Disappointed Man* (W. N. P. Barbellion), p. 191: "*The common Eland is known to micturate on the tuft of hair on the crown of its head, and it does this habitually, when lying down, by bending its head around and down—apparently because of the aroma, perhaps of sexual importance during mating time, as it is a habit of the male alone.*"

[2] Cf. Æsop; Hollis: *Masai Language and Folklore*, pp. 196–198.

[3] Slaughter-house. The place in the woods where the Masai warriors go to eat meat.

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FL6 Dorobo FL6

my apprentices in the Nandi Industrial School at Kâpsabet; our friendly reception by this elusive people is therefore due to Arap Ñgamñgam. We should like to make it clear that this paper is the result of a short *safari*, and intended as a preliminary study, not as a finished and complete account.

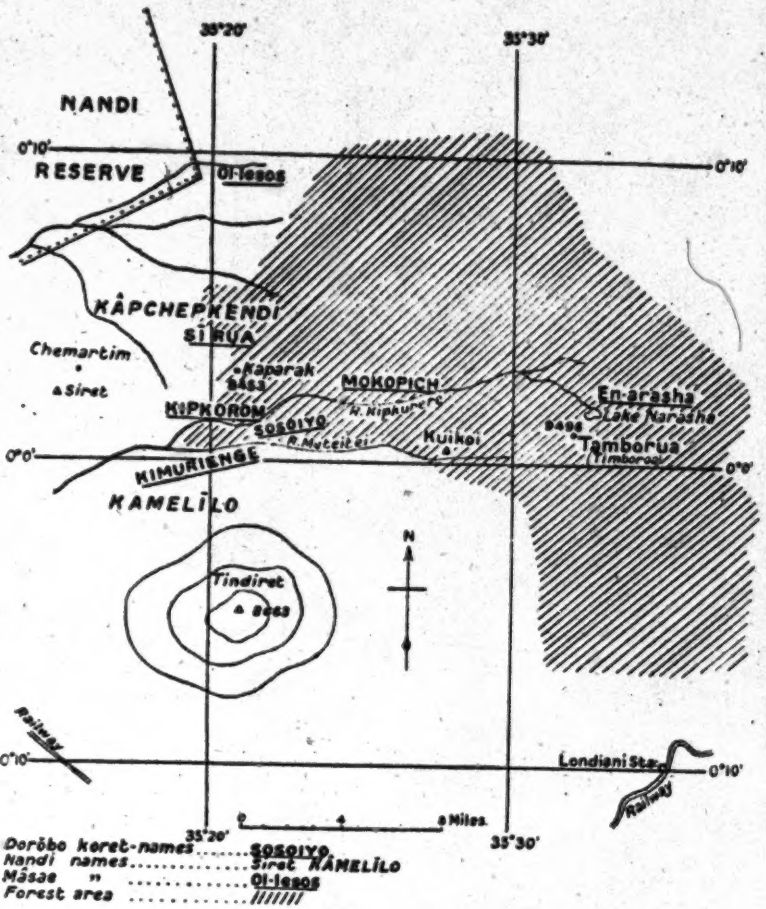


FIG. 1.—SKETCH-MAP OF THE KÂMELILO-KÂPCHEPKENDI DORÔBO COUNTRY.

Both Nandi and Dorōbo words are spelt according to the system adopted by Sir A. C. Hollis in his masterly work, *The Nandi*. It should be noted, in the words Okiot, Okiek (stem Oki-), that the k of the stem is semi-voiced, *i.e.* between k and g.

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FL6 Dorobo FL6

Africa; in the Mâsai story called "Naiterukop" (Beginner of earth) there were originally three things on earth—an elephant, a snake and a Dorôbo (H.M., p. 266); and in the Nandi story "Tapand' ap emet" (The beginning of the earth) God found three things on earth—an elephant, the thunder, and a Dorôbo (H.N., p. 111). The Dorôbo tradition that "we have always lived here" seems to confirm these stories. 174

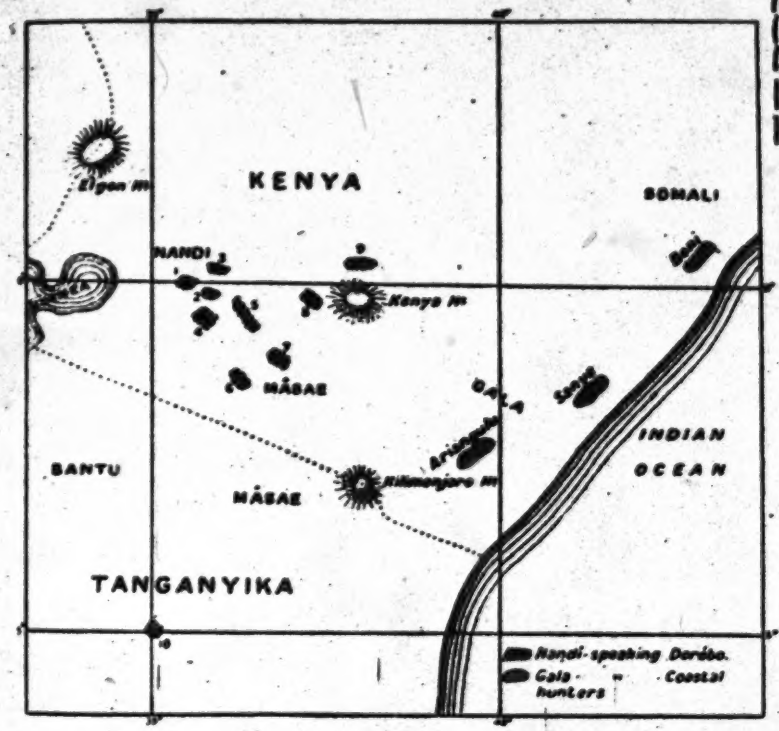


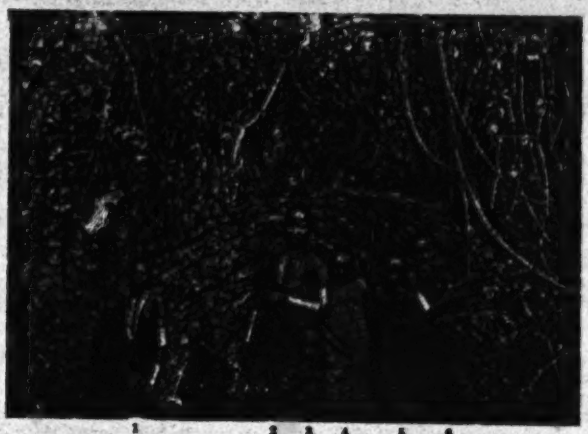
FIG. 2.—SKETCH-MAP OF EASTERN AFRICA, SHOWING DISTRIBUTION OF NANDI-SPEAKING DORÔBO.

stories. Further, Hollis quotes (H.N., p. 98) a tradition of the Moi clan, that a Dorôbo gave birth to a boy and a girl, who issued from a swelling in his leg, and who became the ancestors of "all the people upon earth." We may note that among the Kâmelilo-Kâpchepkendi Dorôbo the chief clan is the Moi or Koïgonyot. Such evidence as we have for the Nandi tribes points to a movement from the north; and since the Dorôbo resemble the Nandi in features, customs, and language, we can only 174 [173]

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FL6 Dorobo FL6

342

[142]



1 2 3 4 5 6

FIG. 1.—GROUP OF WOMEN AND CHILDREN OUTSIDE A HUT. NOS. 1 AND 2, MARRIED WOMEN "YÔÔTIK"; NOS. 3, 5 AND 6, GIRLS; NO. 4, A BOY.

FIG. 2.—HUT "KOCHIPORIT."

• 133
361

FIG. 3.—THE COUNTRY ON THE EDGE OF THE FOREST, SEEN FROM SOSOIYO. NANDI HUTS WITH NANDI-BRED DORÔBO HUT (ON LEFT) IN FOREGROUND.

[Facing p.378, C]

MODERN HUNTERS.

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L:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

Most of these hordes are small, and most of them live on high, forested ground at altitudes of over 7000 feet, though those of Tanganyika live at a somewhat lower altitude. But the Kenya Dorobo, living in the high forests, still retain the preference of their ancestors for such country, though they used to hunt in the plains below. Seventy years ago much of the land under 7000 feet was occupied, though sparsely, by the Masae of the Rift Valley, which accounts for the statement in the list of hordes that the Central and Eastern groups are or were in contact with the Masae.

We do not know the origin of the Dorobo. SIR HARRY JOHNSTON believed that they may have been formed by the forerunners of the Masae who, he thought, absorbed a much larger proportion of the earlier dwarf race which once inhabited East Africa than was absorbed by the Nandi. This is open to question for several reasons. There is nothing to indicate that the Masae group entered East Africa much earlier than the Nandi group, and language suggests that the Dorobo made contact with the first Nandi settlers in the region of Mount Elgon. We may be certain, however, that the ancestors of the Dorobo were forest people. There is no objection to the supposition that they may have some pygmy blood, but this pygmy strain was mixed with the blood of other people who were not pastoral, for the true pastoralist avoids the forest and keeps, like the Masae and Nandi, to open country. It is possible that there was once a race of hunters who ranged over East Africa from whom are descended not only the Dorobo, but the lowland hunters near the coast known as Boni, Sanye, and Ariangulu, as well as the Watta of Abyssinia; and if the identification of the Watta with the Uauat of the Egyptian inscription of Una (VIth dynasty) is accepted, their antiquity is considerable.

However this may be, both Nandi and Masae regard the Dorobo as aboriginals, and their traditions indicate unmistakably that they found the Dorobo in Kenya when they arrived. Both have myths about the beginning of things in which there were originally three beings on earth: in the Masae version, an elephant, a snake, and a Dorobo; and in the Nandi, an elephant, the thunder, and a Dorobo. Moreover HOLLIS quotes a Nandi myth that a Dorobo gave birth to a boy and girl who issued from a swelling on his leg and became the ancestors of the human race[5]. The Dorobo say, "We have always been here", and we may, I think, be justified in regarding the Dorobo not only as a distinct people, but as one of considerable antiquity.

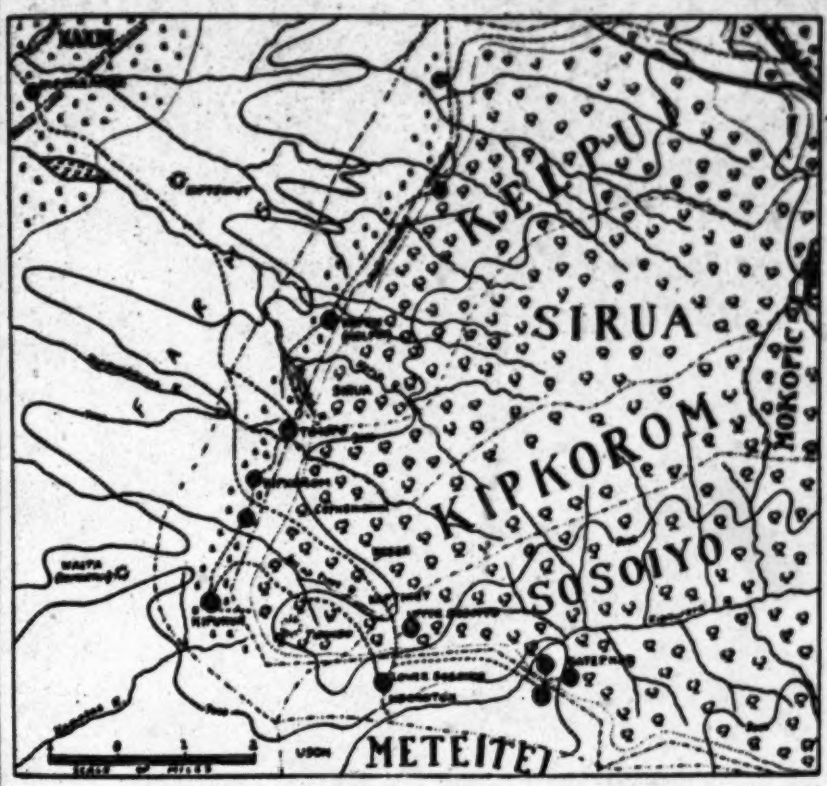
From now onwards the name Dorobo will be used, unless otherwise stated, with specific reference to the Kipkurerek horde of the Western group, which lives in the high forest land a few miles to the south-east of the present Nandi Reserve[6]. Here is a tract of dense, deciduous forest, at an average altitude of 8200-8400 feet above sea level, rising in places to over

[5] HOLLIS: The Masai, p. 266; The Nandi, pp. 98, 111.

[6] I use 'Reserve' instead of the latest term Native Land Unit because it is shorter and better known.

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

Sketch Map of the Kipkunerik Dorobo Country



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Reserve boundaries . . . . . .
Dorobo district boundaries (approx.) . . . . . .
Dorobo tracks . . . . . .
Edge of bush or forest . . . . . .

Forest . . . . . .
Bush . . . . . .
Dorobo settlements, 1939 . .
Farm lines at 1000 ft. V.I. . . . . .

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FLA Dorobo FLA

133 9000 feet, watered by one main river, the Kipkurere, with its tributaries, and other streams which rise in the forest and flow down into Nandi.

133 137 361 The country which the Dorobo claim as their own is part of the North Tindiret Forest Reserve. Most of it is dense forest with tall trees and thick undergrowth; and till recently most of the Dorobo lived right inside it. Their settlements were isolated, though often not very far removed spatially from one another; but they were separated by a solid wall of trees, of which a few hundred yards form a more effective barrier than a mile of open country. Even in the past, however, the Dorobo did not live exclusively inside the forest, and on the southern side overlooking the Metoitei valley in particular, where the Nandi were less frequent, they often lived in glades near the edge of the forest. Thus the chief settlement of the district called [103] Sosoiyo was situated between the forest proper and the belt of flat-topped acacia thorn trees which surrounds it. Those who preferred to live in the open, however, still kept close to the forest, and a strip of thorn and scrub kept them well enough concealed from the outside world. A man who lived thus, though still close to his trees, might escape some of the damp of the forest, and was just as well placed for hunting and trapping as those who lived inside. In the old days, when there were only Nandi about them, people could live in or out of the forest as they pleased, and could alternate between forest and glade according to season or preference. Nowadays they [648] are not allowed by the Government to live in the forest, and those who survive and still cling to their own land, living on the surrounding farms as labourers or by charity of the farmers, are all settled as close to the boundary of the forest reserve as they can get, and seldom are they more than 500 yards from it. This boundary is marked by a broad strip from which the bushes and grass are cut, and it acts both as a line of demarcation and as a firebreak.

824 In the old days, Dorobo used to range far from their permanent homes to hunt, coming down to the plains which in those days were swarming with game of all sorts. The Dorobo of the Eastern Mau, Mount Kenya, and Saleta used to descend to the floor of the Rift Valley to hunt, for the only inhabitants were scattered Masae whom it was easy to avoid; and the Kipkurerek wandered at will over the Uasin Gishu plateau, also thinly inhabited by Masae, and latterly, during the second half of the 19th century, by still less frequent Nandi herdsmen. Even thirty years ago the Plateau carried a good deal of game, and before the coming of the European it was a hunter's paradise.

648 To-day, the Kipkurerek Dorobo are the survivors of a once flourishing and autonomous horde which has lost both its land and the right to its own identity. It was decided by the Government, for several reasons, that the Dorobo should be removed from the forest and settled in Nandi. They were transferred in 1937; but the transaction was not a success, for both Dorobo and Nandi resented the movement, and in a short time the Dorobo were back round the forest, where they were living up to 1940 without any legal right unless as squatters or labourers.

Sketch Map of the Kipkoronik Dondo Country.

Kalenjin Bible (1938-1939) 1994 FLA Dondo FLA

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FLA Dorobo FLA

The Economic Life of the Dorobo

By G. W. B. Huntingford, B. Sc.

Contents:

1. The Economic Framework
2. Economic Activities
   a) Bee-keeping
   b) Hunting
   c) Agriculture
   d) Cattle
3. The Economic Division of the S. W. Corner of the Forest

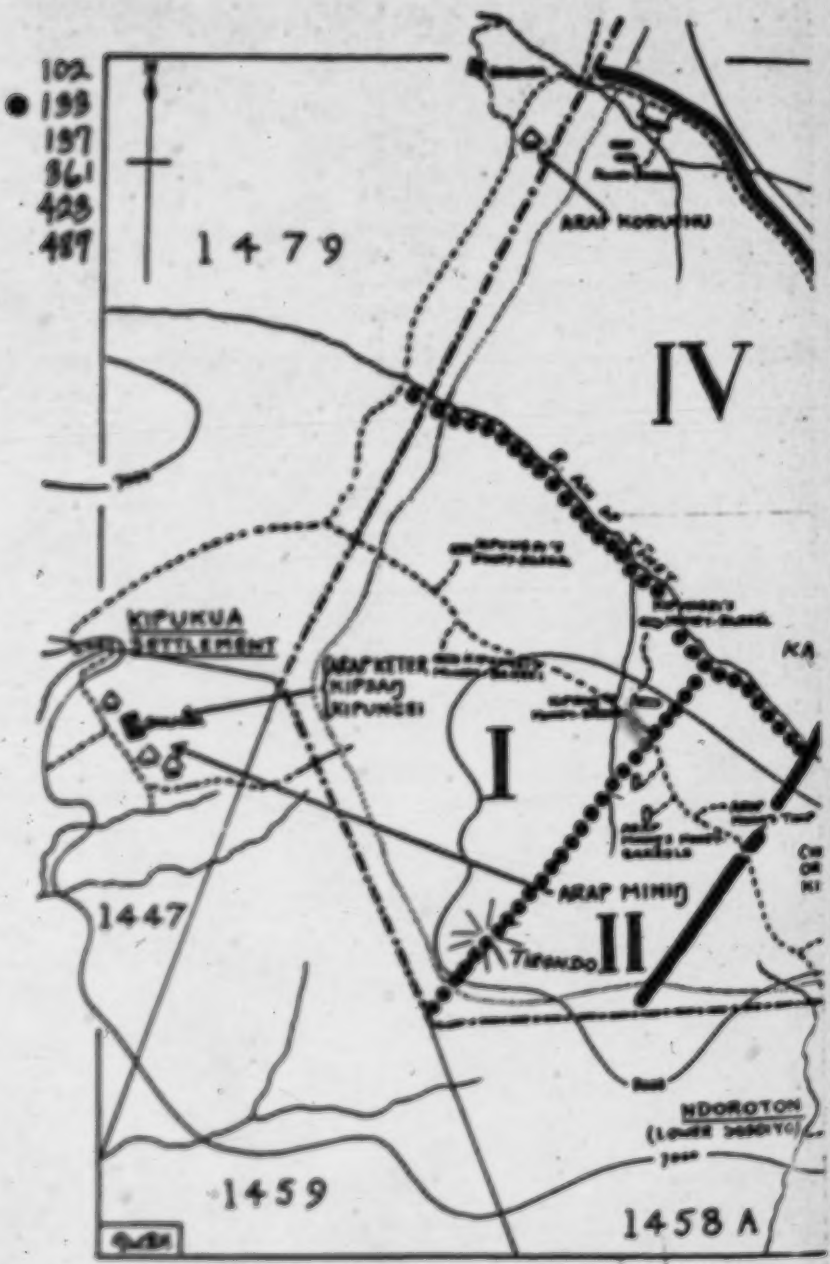
1. The Economic Framework[1]

The country inhabited by the Dorobo consists of the northern part of the Tindiret Forest, and lies just north of the equator, extending northwards to about lat. 0°12', the western and eastern boundaries being long. 35°17' and 35°32' respectively. This area is mostly covered by dense forest of the deciduous type, and has an average altitude of about 6300 feet above sea-level, the northern block being in effect a table-land formed by the 6500 ft. contour. From it on the north and west a series of parallel ridges or spurs runs down towards the Nandi Land Unit[2], which is five miles distant from the nearest Dorobo settlement and below 5000 ft. in altitude, that part of south-east Nandi with which the Dorobo have contacts ranging from 4300 to 4900 ft. On the south there is a more precipitous slope to the Kipkunrow valley, whence there is a rise to be crossed before the river Molulisi is reached. The only river of any size in the forest is the Kipkunrow, "the hollow river", in alluvium to its deep valley, which in wet weather rises from Lake Naruaba near Timboroa. It crosses the southern part of the Dorobo forest through a valley nearly 1000 ft. deep, and with its numerous small tributaries forms the water supply of this part of the forest.

[1] Cf. The Social Institutions of the Dorobo, Anthropos 44, 1951, pp. 1-48, and The Political Organization of the Dorobo, Anthropos 46, 1951, pp. 133-146.

[2] Native Land Unit is the term now used officially in place of the old Native Reserve; but for the sake of clearness I shall continue to refer to the Nandi Land Unit as the Nandi Reserve or the Reserve.

[7602]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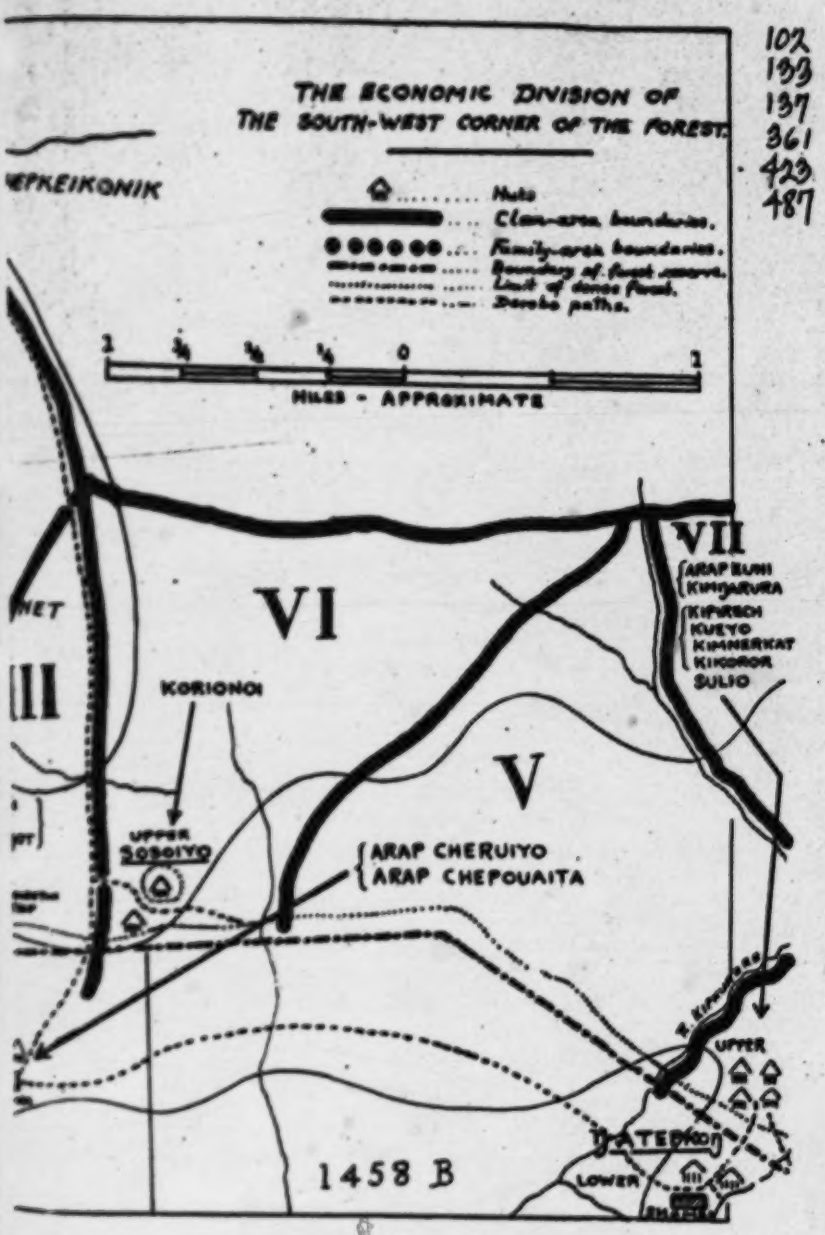

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7: Wayland N-5 (ca. 1926) 1931 FL6 Dorobo FL6 ●
Jiye FK8
Acholi FK4

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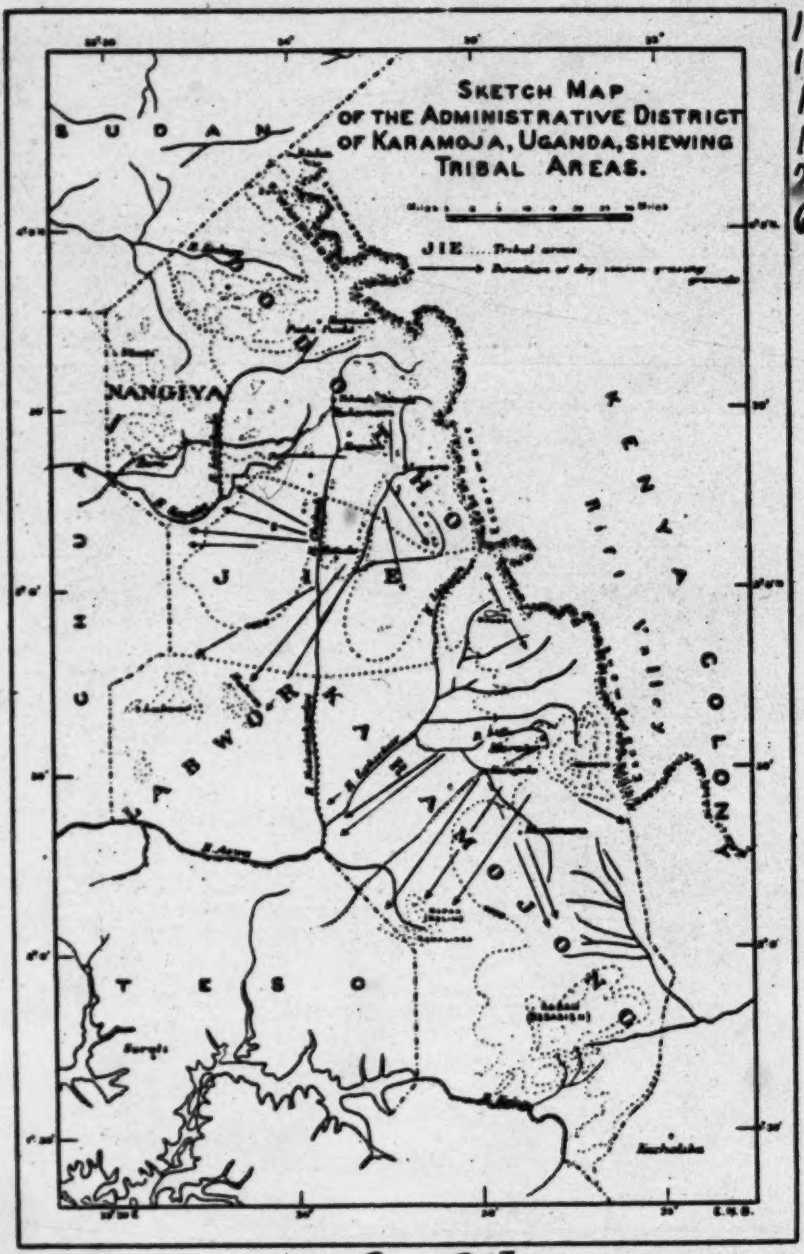

[p. 189]

7: Wayland N-5 (ca. 1926) 1931 FL6 Dorobo FL6
Jiye FK8
Acholi FK4

part of Acholiland to the neighbouring area of Labwor in Karamoja. No details will be given of this journey, which proved a difficult one on account of the heavy rains. It may be noted, however, that the administrative boundary between Lango and Acholi was found unconformable with the tribal boundary. The line of march after leaving Labwor is indicated on the accompanying map. From the beginning of the journey to Kakamari, in Dodotho, I was accompanied by Captain P. Renny, then O.C. Northern Garrison, to whom I am deeply indebted. Indeed, had it not been for his ever-willing help, many of the enquiries to which this report refers could not have been undertaken. My best thanks are due to the Percy Sladen trustees for generous assistance.[1] Further, I wish gratefully to acknowledge much good advice from Professor C. G. Seligman, Dr. A. C. Haddon, and Sir James Frazer.

2.—KARAMOJA.

For administrative purposes the boundaries of Karamoja, enclosing an area of 7,112 square miles, are defined in the Handbook of Uganda (Second Edition) as follows:—

"Commencing at a point on the boundary between the Uganda and East Africa Protectorates, being the centre of the crater of Mount Elgon, the boundary runs in a straight line to the source of the River Kisimchanga (also known as the Kilim or Greek River) which river it follows to its junction with the Kiboko River, which river it follows to its junction with Lake Gedge; thence in a north-easterly direction to a point on 2° N. Latitude due south of the highest point on Kamalinga mountain. From this point it follows the eastern boundary of Lobor District until it meets the southern boundary of Rudolf Province; thence along the southern boundary until it meets the Turkwel District boundary of Rudolf Province; thence in a southerly direction along the Turkwel District boundary until it meets the River Turkwel or Suam; thence along the Turkwel or Suam to the source of the Suam in Mount Elgon; thence a straight line to the point of commencement."

Until about the middle of 1920 Karamoja was unadministered, except that part of it generally known as Labwor, which was treated as part of the Acholi District. Karamojo is a vast alluvial plain rising very gently in the vicinity of the mountains which tend to be mainly grouped on the eastern and northern sides. The eastward rise, towards the Rift escarpment, is moderately conspicuous. Most of the plain consists of "cotton soil" in and on which are gravels carrying stone tools of a very primitive culture.[2] (Pl. XVIII, Fig. 1.)

The hills and mountains are all composed of ancient crystalline rocks of various sorts except in the south-east where Tertiary lavas and volcanic tuffs are conspicuous. Generally speaking the crystalline rocks are of the Inselberg type.[3] True caves exist, but they are not very common. They are due to weathering along joint planes, except in the Tororo hills where limestone caverns occur.

The area is decidedly a dry one, and if tradition is to be trusted is becoming steadily drier. There are no permanent rivers and, during the dry season, water is obtained from holes—

[1] The Royal Anthropological Institute is also indebted to the Percy Sladen trustees for a grant towards the expenses of publication.

[2] The Stone-Age remains of this area will be dealt with in another publication.

[3] See *Ann. Rept. Geol. Surv. Uganda*, 1925.

7: Wayland N-5 (ca. 1926) 1931 FL6 Dorobo FL6
Jiye FK8
Acholi FK4

either natural basins, of the nature of solution pits in the gneiss, or artificial excavations. Among the latter, those of Kameon and Loyoro are famous. In both of these places the water-holes are dug in dry stream beds, and those at Loyoro must be 100 feet in depth.

Since the inhabitants of Karamojo are "cattle-people" possessing vast herds, it will be understood that their movements are largely determined by dry-weather water supplies and grazing grounds.

The vegetation is essentially xerophytic, acacia being the most conspicuous form of tree. In the extreme north-east, however, the hills and valleys, particularly the latter, are somewhat densely wooded, and in the gulleys that cut into the escarpment that separates Karamoja from the Turkana country very large fig-trees are not uncommon. Among other interesting trees, the wild olive may be noted.

The term Karamoja District derives from the name Karamojo, the proper name for the southern part of the district inhabited by the Karamojong; the central part of the country is known as *Jie* and is inhabited by a people of that name; while the northern portion is divided into two: in the N.E. there is Dodotho and on the N.W. Nangiya. Both of these areas are inhabited by people calling themselves Dodothi (Dodotho).

The following subdivisions of the tribal sections are taken (with very slight adaptation) from a "Report on the Karamoja District," by Capt. A. R. Chidlaw Roberts, M.C., Government Press, Entebbe, 1920:—

(1) Karomojo.	Area.
Ngi'muno	Magosi (to Moroto).
Ngi'maziniko	Moroto
Ngi'tepes	"
Ngi'pian	Mani-Mani and Kilim
Ngi'kachama	Debasien Mt.
Ngi'tome	Bakora
Ngi'mosingo	"
Ngi'ngoleriet	"
Ngi'merimong	"
Ngi'kopo	"
Ngi'pei	"

(2) Jie.	Area.
Ngi'rengen	Jie central.
Ngi'kotianga	" "
Ngi'watia	" "
Ngi'kotido	" "
Ngi'panyangara	" "
Ngi'owtakow	" "
Ngi'silanga	" "

7: Wayland N-5 (ca. 1926) 1931 FL6 Dorobo FL6
Achole FK4
Jiye FK8

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FIG. 1.—TYPICAL GRANITE COUNTRY IN NORTHERN KARAMOJA.

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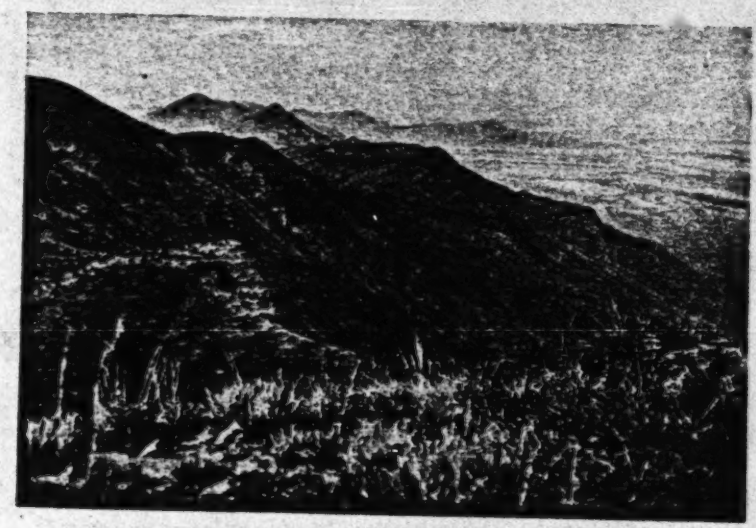


FIG. 2.—THE ANDERSOBO COUNTRY. THE RIFT ESCARPMENT SOUTH OF KAMBOS.

THE TRIBES OF KARAMOJA.

[p 230 (A)]

7: Wayland N-5 (ca. 1926) 1931 FL6 Dorobo FL6

133
342
361

FIG. 1.—AN ANDENDOBO VILLAGE.

142
342

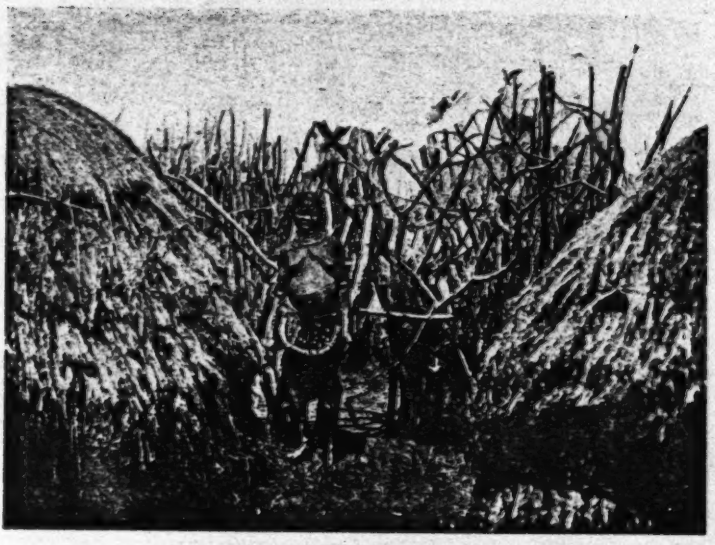


FIG. 2.—WITHIN AN ANDENDOBO VILLAGE.

[p230 (K)]

9:Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1903 FL6 Dorobo FL6

They are said to be very prolific, having families of eight to ten children, but the infant mortality is so extremely heavy that their numbers increase very slowly; this mortality is probably due to the cold, damp climate of the Mau Forests, which are at an altitude ranging from 7,000 to 9,000 feet.

Their peace ceremony consists of cutting off a dog's ears, and the contracting parties then spatter one another with the blood.

They live principally on Colobus and other monkeys, which they shoot in the forest. At certain seasons, however, they go and hunt big game on the plains, known as the Ranguta Nyuki; they wait till the grass is dry, and then burn it to facilitate their hunting. They use poisoned arrows for big game, and unpoisoned ones for monkeys, &c. They train dogs to assist in their hunting, and are very keen to get young dogs for the purpose. They told me that they first gave the dog certain medicine, and the animal could then track game.

They are very clever elephant hunters, and informed me that when they came across an elephant they went off and bathed and scrubbed themselves very carefully to remove all trace of the human scent, and that they were then able to approach a sleeping elephant and spear it with a poisoned dart.

They are most expert in the use of a firestick. The fire is produced in the ordinary way by the friction of one stick spun round vertically in a depression in another piece of wood, which is held firm between the bare feet of the operator; the lower piece of wood appeared to be the juniper of Man.

A small vocabulary of their language is appended on the opposite page. They use the Nandi numerals.

The prefix "ki," and the suffixes "et," "it," and "ek," are, I think, brought in from the Nandi language, but most of the roots will be found to be quite distinct. Many of the tribe can only speak Nandi, and when collecting this vocabulary in many cases they appeared to have forgotten the Oggiek or Omotik word but gave the Nandi word, and had to consult among themselves and, as it were, hunt up the proper word. The language is thus evidently dropping into such disuse that it will probably become quite extinct in the near future.

C. W. HOBLEY.

[34]

14:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939)1942
FLS Dorobo FLS

THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE DOROBO[1]

By G. W. B. HUNTINGFORD

I

The Dorobo, who call themselves Okiek, are a forest-dwelling people scattered over the highlands of Kenya and Tanganyika. Twelve groups[2] are recorded, and it is known that they are all hunters, and that all speak dialects of Nandi. The group which forms the subject of this paper lives in the North Tindiret forest to the S. E. of the Nandi Reserve, at an average altitude of over 8000 ft., and actually on the equator. In this area there were formerly six inhabited districts, called Kelpui, Kipkorom, Sosoiyo, Chepurur, Sirua, and Mokopich, while some five or six miles to the south there lived another group on Tindiret hill. My investigations have been limited to the first three of these divisions, since Chepurur, Sirua, and Mokopich no longer exist, and the remnant on Tindiret form a distinct group.

At least fifteen years ago the Dorobo were forbidden by the government to live in the forest reserve, which comprises the whole of their country, and those that did so, unless as squatters of the Forest

[1] The field-work on which this paper is based was carried out between May 1938 and November 1939 under a Leverhulme Research Fellowship, and I wish to express my gratitude to this organisation for making the work possible.

[2] The actual distribution is: Kenya, 9 groups; Tanganyika, 3 groups. See Journ. Roy. Anthrop. Inst., 1929, LIX. 336 and fig. 2.

[P. 183, A]

[P. 191, A]

Apart from the rule of exogamy, there are certain other marriage regulations: 614

1. A person may not marry anyone who comes into the *tiliet* or relationship (except F. Sis. D. D.), that is, anyone addressed by a relationship term, or as *oruyon*.
2. A man may not marry his wife's sister because such unions are thought to be sterile. [842]
3. A person may marry into the clan of his or her M., M.M., Br.W., or Sis.H.

Pre-marital intercourse with anyone in the *tiliet* is forbidden; but with a clansfellow condoned, though not approved of. [836]

The shortage of women and the lack of wealth have resulted in the Dorobo being largely monogamous, though if a man has the wealth, he may have more than one wife. The *kedua* (bride-price)[1] is said to have been formerly 4 oxen for slaughtering; today it is 1 cow, 1 ox and 4 goats, which go to the bride's father and become his personal property. This *kedua* is high for a people who own little or no stock; but by means of gift exchange cattle can be obtained from the Nandi (See below, p. 192.) Rarity of divorce is another result of this shortage, and since a wife is something comparatively hard to come by, she is more cherished than is usual among other peoples where women are plentiful. The inability to get wives has produced a tendency to what may be called *mondsis*, that is, unmarried men (some of whom never marry) live entirely alone, and do all their domestic work, as well as hunting and cultivation, without assistance. 596 [556] 583 [431] [648] 586 589

III

ECONOMIC LIFE.

A. Environment.

The home of the Kapchepkendi Dorobo is the western end of the high ground which occupies the country between Eldama Ravine and the Nandi escarpment. The greater part of it is covered with dense forest, and is crossed on the S. W. corner by two parallel paths from Kipkorom in the north to Ndoroton in the south. The forest begins about the 8,000 ft. contour, and to reach it from any side entails a steep climb of 131 [137] [487] 133

[1] On this term, see "Bride-price in antiquity," *MAN*, 1931, 187.

[P.191, B]

200-300 ft. in most places. Once the forest is reached, the slope is gradual, ranging from 8,200 ft. to 8,400 ft., though the main river, the Kipkurere, flows through a valley 1,000 ft. deep. The rainfall, taken at Kapchorua farm about two miles from the W. boundary of the forest, averages 56.54 inches over 9 years from 1929 to 1937: the maximum was 70.33 inches in 1937, the minimum 28.61 inches in 1933; in the forest itself the rainfall is undoubtedly higher. The forest is always damp: mists are frequent, and even in the dry weather it is not always quite dry, a condition which is responsible in part for the rather high infant mortality among the Dorobo. On the edge of the forest are glades with a fringe of thorn trees (acacia robusta), and between the forest and the farms is a strip of land, included in the Forest Reserve, which is suitable for cultivation and stock-keeping. The year is divided into two seasons, *Mmoinonik*, the dry season from October to March, and *Iwot*, the wet season, from April to September. These determine both the now obsolescent hunting activities, and the increasing agricultural activities.

133 32 [165] [137] [311] [178]

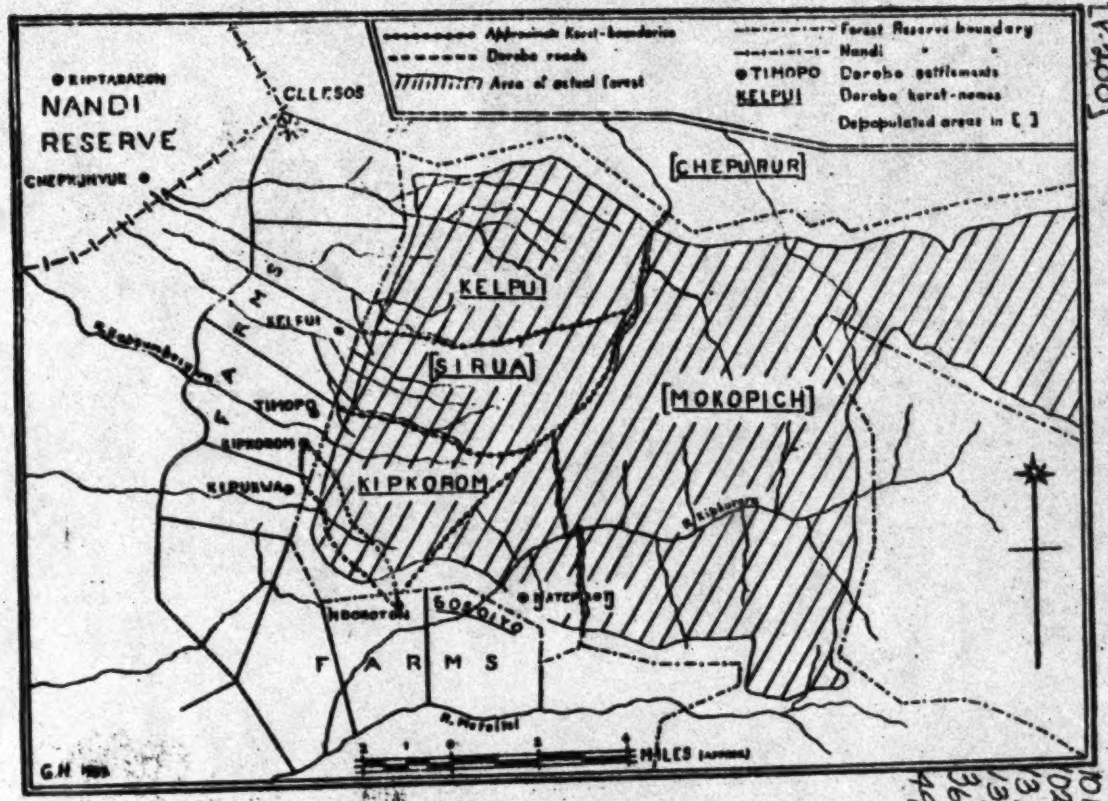
B. Economic Activities.

The economic life of the Dorobo may be divided into two phases: (1) the old hunting existence, which began to disappear about 1925 when the Government started seriously to restrict their forest life, and (2) the present trapping-agricultural life in which cultivation is becoming of increased importance.

224 [178] [648] [656] [241]

The economic group is either the elementary family or the domestic family (or, the extended family). Sexual division of work overlaps to some extent, but most of the work outside the settlement is done by men (hunting, trapping, woodcutting, and intercourse with the outside world), while the women do the work inside the settlement, except that they collect all the vegetable food from the forest. Agricultural work is performed by both sexes. Things peculiar to women are: the making of clothes, leather work, and baskets; to men: making weapons and other utensils, digging coloured earth, and putting meat on the fire to cook (though the women look after it once it is on the fire).

[594] [596] 462 [222] [241]



Sketch Map of the Kapchepkendi Dorobo Country

P.200
Mr. Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1942
FL6 Dorobo FL6
101
102
131
133
361
491